

PEACE NEWS

No. 421 July 7, 1944 2d.

Where peace begins

This letter was published in the Daily Telegraph on Jun. 28:

SIR,—May I, as a sister of one of the shot Stalag prisoners, express my gratitude for the inspiring memorial service at St. Martin-in-the-Fields?

The hymn, "I vow to thee, my country," was fittingly chosen as the last. We who are left behind must rededicate ourselves wholly to seeing that war shall never again blight civilization.

The causes of war are fundamentally in human nature; wanting our own way, jealousy, greed, lust, domination, softness, complacency, pride. And if a lasting peace is to be made we must recognize and fight these war-making causes in ourselves first.

Unless "I pay the price" (as the hymn says) in daily battling against these things in myself, then the cause for which my brother and his companions paid the price will remain unfulfilled and I shall have let them down.

Yours faithfully,
A SISTER.

Oxfordshire.

WHAT MOZART ACHIEVED

"A letter has recently come to the Red Cross and St. John organization telling of six lovers of Mozart, prisoners of war in Austria, who rejoiced at their find of a score for one of the master's works. Unfortunately it needed an oboe-player as well as an oboe, and neither, they thought, could be conjured up in the camp.

"However, such is the appeal of music that one of the German officials could no longer resist the call of the unfulfilled work, and obtained permission to bring along his oboe and join the party."—Children's Newspaper.

KERSHNER ANSWERS FOOD-RELIEF CRITICS

Britain's tragic mistake

"WHEN one's best friend is making a serious mistake one does his best to restrain him from it. That is exactly the way I feel towards the British," writes Dr. Howard Kershner to Roy Walker (Secretary, Food Relief Campaign) in a letter from New York on June 20.

Dr. Kershner says he holds the British people and their Government in the highest esteem and has paid them the highest compliments within his power. "I think the British Government is making a tragic mistake which is prolonging the war needlessly, causing the death of large numbers of children and planting the seeds of bitterness which will make reconstruction vastly more difficult and which will persist for many years after the close of the war."

Replying to criticisms of his broadcast leaflet made by Mr. Dingle Foot, and later repeated in the House of Lords by the blockade Minister, Lord Selborne, Kershner writes: "The State Department in Washington has said officially that the Greek relief scheme was of no benefit to Axis economy. When I was in London, Mr. Dingle Foot did tell me that the British Government was satisfied with the operation so far. He said there are advantages and disadvantages but he thought the former outweighed the latter. This may not be saying that the scheme was of no benefit to the enemy but it does say that whatever benefits accrued to the enemy were outweighed by advantages to the Allied cause.

"Mr. Dingle Foot said in the House of Commons that the British Govern-

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THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE

Riddle of America's post-war policy

WILL the war in Europe end this year? Apparently, that is the general opinion in USA. On the other hand, Laval, who is no fool, still believes that neither side can win. "The long drawn-out German defensive will force some sort of negotiated peace." (Evening Standard, July 1.)

On what does Laval base this opinion? Probably on considerations which Gen. Martin (Daily Telegraph, July 3) expounds from the Allied angle.

Rundstedt and Rommel are longing "to launch a general counter-offensive before the Allies can draw renewed strength through the port of Cherbourg."

"The Germans will not get their decision in the West. And the blood-bath will continue. The end will come when the High Command finds that its Eastern front exists no longer. And that day may not be long in coming."

Decision in the East?

IT is significant that Gen. Martin implies that a general advance in the West is out of the question. The Germans may conceivably, but improbably, obtain a decision in the West, but not the Allies. The decisive battle is that which has now begun in the East: it is "one of the decisive battles of the world."

On this theory, the battle in Normandy can only be one of attrition. "The blood-bath will continue." Already, the seasoned veterans of the African campaign are declaring that the tank battle now being fought round Caen is infinitely grimmer than anything in their experience. A minor consequence is that the popular hope that the launching sites of the flying bombs will be captured or destroyed is unlikely to be realized.

Soldier's report

FURTHER, the political problem of France would not appear to be quite so urgent as it was represented. For on this showing there is not much likelihood that France will be liberated piecemeal by the advance of the Allied armies. Probably that is all the better for France. Here is a first-hand picture, taken from the letter of a soldier-brother of a PPU member, fighting in Normandy:

"We are at the moment occupying a farmhouse, whose inhabitants return each day to feed the cattle and chickens and milk the

cows; and while they are quite friendly, there is none of this ecstatic welcome that I as one of 'the army of liberation' had been misguided enough to expect. Rather, it seems to me that they regard us as invaders that have rudely spoilt their peace and their homes. Maybe this impression is wrong, for one can hardly expect them to be pleased at having their homes shelled and occupied by troops, whatever nationality these troops are, and for whatever purpose they are there. I don't think I'd be too keen on being liberated under these conditions."

Second-hand "liberation"

ON this matter of "liberation," collateral evidence comes from Czecho-Slovakia.

"It is interesting to note that, in contrast with the Poles, the Czecho-Slovaks do not think their country will need much long-term credit. Czecho-Slovakia will probably have suffered less from direct hostilities than any other Allied country in Europe. Its manufacturing capacity may be almost intact, and Czecho-Slovakia has acquired some fresh capacity in recent years, not all of which will be useless when it comes to switching over from war to peace-production." (Economist, July 1.)

The moral seems to be that it is better to be "betrayed" than to be "liberated." If however you have to be "liberated," take care that it happens, so to speak, at second-hand.

Republican Convention

THE mysteries—and mysteries they are—of the Republican Convention in Chicago have been handled with the proper touch of quizzical reverence by the Times Washington correspondent, who impresses me as knowing his America better than anybody else. He packed an awful lot into this paragraph:

"The Republican Party is meeting to nominate its candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency in Chicago, where in 1860 it chose Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin, and where in 1920 it put forward Warren Gamaliel Harding and Calvin Coolidge. It is important beyond most things to remember that it is seeking to capture and not to retain power, and that it must, as the politicians say, 'point with alarm' rather than 'view with pride'." (Times, June 26.)

On the following day he capped it with:

"Not till later in the week will the party lay the foundation-stone of its campaign. It will then, unless all present signs are deceptive, nominate at the first ballot the man it does not like for the post he does not want."

Nurse Cavell conscripted

"Standing as I do, in view of God and Eternity, I realize that Patriotism is not enough; there must be no bitterness or hatred in my heart against anyone."

IT is difficult to imagine the most shameless propagandist being able to pervert those moving words uttered by Nurse Cavell before her execution in Belgium in 1915, into an appeal to women to take up war work. But the writer of a full-page advertisement in the US Weekly, Life (Apr. 17) has succeeded in doing so, though not without mutilating the message.

Above a half-page photographic impression of the scene in the Brussels prison, showing Nurse Cavell with a German guard and British chaplain, runs the heading:

"Tell them that in time of war, PATRIOTISM IS NOT ENOUGH!" —Edith Cavell, 1915."

Beneath the picture comes this: "Nurse Edith Cavell awaits her execution by the Germans at dawn. The British chaplain beside her asks, 'Have you a last word for the women of your country?'"

"Yes, her voice speaks strongly. 'Tell them that in time of war, Patriotism is not enough!'"

"Today, American women understand the terrible truth of this message. Patriotism, love of country, the will to win, is not enough. So millions have willingly put aside their everyday lives, and are hard at work with their own two hands to speed the end of this holocaust."

"But many more women are needed! There are thousands of jobs open..."

The appeal for women for war work concludes with a coy commercial reminder:

"Rayon is important in military and economic warfare... we ask you to buy it carefully, to look for known quality labels."

★

The advertisement is published by Tubize Rayon Corporation "in co-operation with War Advertising Council, War Manpower Commission, and Office of War Information." Does this mean that these official bodies are equally responsible for one of the worst "spiritual atrocities" of the war?

Isolationism again?

DEWEY does not want the post because he would like to have been candidate in 1948, not 1944. If he were, unexpectedly, to defeat Roosevelt this year he would have a very difficult period of office, for which his capacities are quite unproven, and after which he would probably end as the most unpopular man in the country. The party machine does not want him because the "old guard" have no faith in him.

The issue is of prime importance to the world; yet who dare prophesy? It is generally agreed that Roosevelt will be elected this time, but that in 1948 a Republican President will be inevitable. That means that if the American people are disillusioned by the outcome of the war, Isolationism (which is not incompatible with imperialism) will triumph.

As things are now the Republican Party is quite undecided about foreign policy. It will say anything that will not alienate votes. Its thunders are reserved for the New Deal. But even the thunders are purely negative. To go the way the Republican old guard would like to go—to abolish all central controls—would precipitate the confusion which in any event will hardly be averted from post-war USA. The real danger is that the domestic situation in USA will be so tense that it will be incapable of any contribution to any policy of world-peace at all.

Ideological issues

MR. CHURCHILL'S pronouncement that this is not an ideological war is about as true as the contention of the Left that it is. An ideological issue of some sort is being decided, but not by the conscious acts of the belligerents: Mr. Churchill would like it to be a purely national war; the Left would like it to be an anti-fascist war. What it actually is, who can declare?

By far the most significant consequence of the last war was the Russian Revolution. But even the few Westerners who were keen-sighted enough to foresee that revolution in Russia would ensue were none of them capable of foretelling the course the Russian Revolution would take.

I do not believe that the main consequence of this, more terrible and more revolutionary war, will be the extension of the Russian revolution.

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THE PREPARATION OF PEACE

ERIC GILL wrote in his PPU pamphlet, "The Human Person and Society," that the signing of the Peace Pledge was the necessary first step in order to clear the deck for action—the performing of its real and primary work. That is "the preparation of peace, the rediscovery of the foundations of human order and the winning of men to build upon them."

And the real and primary object of the Peace News Fund is to help pacifists to do that work. It is not and will not be easy. No movement, indeed, ever had a more difficult problem to tackle: for the machine-civilization which makes war so devastating creates minds that are peculiarly susceptible to propaganda and organization for war. The magnitude of the difficulty is the magnitude of the opportunity.

Contributions since Jun. 23: £11 11s. Total to date: £5,886 7s. 1d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

HALF WAY TO THE TOP!

THE weekly printing figure for Peace News during June averaged 18,750 copies—an increase of 76 over the average for May, and of 1,120 over the printing figure six months ago.

We expected that the opening of the Second Front would put a stop, at least for the time being, to the continual rise in circulation which had been in evidence since the beginning of the year. But our expectations have been falsified. Distributors and other supporters are proving by results that it is still possible to find new readers.

Are you helping forward this work? There is still a margin in our paper quota that would enable us to print more than 1,000 additional copies each week. Another six months of steady progress and the job will be done. Help us to do it!

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters
should be addressed to the Manager

GROUND FOR HOPE

WE are all haunted by fears of the aftermath of this war. It is good to hear a reassuring voice, when it comes from one we have learned to honour and to love. Such a one is Gilbert Murray. In a lecture just published, which we earnestly commend to all our readers: "A Conversation with Bryce" (Oxford University Press, 1. 6d. net) he says "There is reasonable ground for hope; ground for great anxiety; no ground for despair." He reaches that conclusion after comparing the present thirty years' war with the thirty years' wars of the past: the one which dealt a death-blow to the civilization of Athens, the other which so terribly devastated Germany in the 17th century that many see in it the prime cause of the political backwardness of the German people today. Yet each of these bitter wars, Gilbert Murray shows, was followed by a spiritual reaction: an impassioned assertion of the universal moral law. In the 18th century A.D. the Age of Reason—of which Voltaire was the European voice; in the 4th century, the great Stoic philosophy of Cosmopolis—the eternal world-city, in which the Reason common to all men became their law.

But these were ideal cities: dreams that could not be realized, like the idealism that inspired the impassioned supporters of the League of Nations. Since Gilbert Murray himself was amongst the noblest of these, he has faced the searching question. And it has left him undismayed.

"What ground have we for hope? I would say, just this. After those previous long wars there was abundance of idealism and good will in human beings: failure came because there was no organization capable of putting that good will into effect. The State was still for the most part merely a killing machine, good at that particular job, but miserably incompetent in grappling with the problems of social welfare or international organization . . ."

The modern State is an utterly different thing.

"Even though now for the moment it is definitely organized to the last button as a killing machine it is far more at home in the work of constructive organization, economic research, social service, care of health, provision against fear and want. The sort of work that we shall have to undertake, amid many dangers and on a gigantic scale, is just the work for which in contrast to those earlier times we are splendidly equipped."

The modern State is a social service State. Is it primarily that, or is it as the sceptics hold, a social service State in order that it may be an efficient war-State? The question is unanswerable. The two aspects, the two purposes of the modern State, are inextricably interwoven. And they are contradictory. In that contradiction is more than a gleam of hope.

Russia is trying to harmonize the two purposes: much as revolutionary France tried to harmonize them. It works for a time; and for some years Russia may be as Michelet described France: "a country civilized by conscription." But the civilization, of which conscription is the means, eventually undermines the conscription itself. It did in France, it will in Russia. In Britain the issue will be fought out, quite soon, consciously and politically. It will be the crucial post-war issue. Unless the peace is of such a nature that it permits a universal and progressive disarmament, the clash between the war-State and the social service State in Britain will be revolutionary.

For the proposed great schemes of expenditure on social services—on education, housing, health, nutrition, which must be promised to satisfy democracy at war, cannot be reconciled with great expenditures on armies and armaments. One or the other will have to go. We do not think it will be the social services.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement or PPU connection with the matter advertised.

Postal subscription rates: Home: quarterly, 8s. 3d.; yearly, 12s. 6d. Abroad: quarterly, 2s. 9d.; yearly, 10s. 6d.
Displayed advertisements: Maximum size, 8 column inches. Copy by first post Friday.

STOPPING THE WAR

PACIFISTS are a very small minority and in war-time their beliefs force them to stand apart from their fellows. They cannot take part in war. The most they can do is suggest to people that war is unworthy of human beings. But their one wish should be, must be, to see the war stopped. And if they cannot stop it themselves—as they cannot—they must hope that someone else, even a victorious general, may stop it for them.

Pacifists unfortunately were not consulted when war was declared. They have not influenced the course of the war in any very obvious way. And I see no reason to suppose they will be consulted when the armistice is signed. In fact, unpleasant but undeniable fact, the thing is completely out of their hands. Like all minorities they can do no more than work slowly and painfully for the day when they will be a minority no longer.

But until then, though we have renounced war ourselves, we may surely be permitted to spare a thought for those millions who do not share our views; to hope that, although they have not chosen to listen to us, they may yet find some speedy way out of the blood-bath into which they have been so ill-advised as to plunge.

If military victory comes tomorrow before we have had time to herald in the Utopian dawn, shall we grudge the people their relief from the horror and bloodshed because instead of listening to us and making a socialist peace, they have listened to their masters and made a capitalist armistice? Is a fascist world at peace, however temporary that peace may be, not better a million times than a fascist world at war?

A military victory this summer would stop the horror, and I hope for a military victory. I should naturally prefer to see the soldiers of the contesting armies revolt and return to their homes without waiting for a victory. But before they are likely to think of such a course millions yet living must die and more millions must be maimed and crippled. A quick military victory would save these millions to taste for a little longer the sweetness of life.

IAN CAMPBELL

3 Parliament Hill, N.W.3.

Useless to pretend

MOST emphatically negotiated peace is preferable to victory and imposed peace. But there is no sign

Ought pacifists to hope that a quick victory will do it?

OUR recent expression of hope that the battle of France might be brief, and that the one practical hope of this lay in a quick victory for the Allies, has resulted in a large correspondence from readers. Here we publish a representative selection from letters received.

among the leaders of the nations that the former is attainable. Are we then, as pacifists, to desire the war to continue until the idea of a negotiated peace becomes popular? It is useless to pretend there is any substantial support for it now.

Militarists being for the time in the ascendant, what else can we hope with honesty, but that their methods will not entail long-drawn-out suffering, and if it must be victory, that it will come quickly?

I cannot see that this desire links pacifists in any way with war supporters. We are now merely agonized spectators of terrible events which we are powerless to influence.

I see no alternatives but these.

MARGERY E. B. RICHARDS

"Arcady," 26 Pine Vale Crescent, Bournemouth.

Bitter alternatives

IF I interpret aright the feelings of those who were shocked by your "quick victory" hopes, I would say that they were on these lines: an Allied victory now (from present viewpoints) is inevitably a giant's stride in the procession towards a third world war. The alternative of defeat (even without the once talked-of conscious acceptance in martyrdom of it), can mean our own share and participation in the deadly fruits of war—a lesson we anxiously seek to impose upon any country but our own, omitting thereby our very equal, if not greater, responsibility for them. Yet it offers, too, a greater hope (if not now the only one) of our own country's reaching a social awareness of creative purposes and a hope of our sharing in the healing of the nations.

As to a deadlock and its exhaustion, mistakenly or not, it appears certain to me that the present bitter onslaught on the Continent is likely to be long and protracted, perhaps into one or two years yet. If it seemed otherwise I too would be tempted to ally myself with your own hopes.

MEN or MASSES?

Slavery and Freedom. By Nicolas Berdyaev. Geoffrey Bles, London. 25s.

AT all times men have tended to translate their common problems into collective ones in order presumably to shirk relieving the tensions first at home. Especially today is this evidenced in the modern ideological current towards totalitarian government, large-scale planning and collectivist organization. Even some pacifist revolutionaries appear to hold the essentially escapist and mystical idea of the community or the "classless society" as possessing a superior value to the persons making up the collectivity. Numbers certainly are a power and organized numbers a greater power still, and to place too great a value upon such power as a potential means to cope with the terrifying discontents of humanity, is an all-too-human temptation.

ROAD TO SLAVERY

It is in Russia that this willingness to make the human person a means to a social, a State or an industrial end, has been carried to the greatest extreme, but the same thing is happening and is likely to happen to an increasing extent in this country. In fact it is bound to happen as spiritual values cease to be preponderant, for the only way to avoid chaos in social life according to materialist values is to draw from the instincts of the mob that which will subject the mob under the guise of expressing its will. It is tragic to think how easily the planned machine-State with its immense mind-conditioning powers of mechanized propaganda will be able to induce most

people actually to welcome the servile social order with its "security-for-all schemes" and its provision of "leisure"—viz. idleness on rations.

Berdyaev's book challenges the whole ideological tendency of the times by re-stating the Christian teaching that spirit is never incarnate in States or any other collectivity but only in the human personality—in human creativeness and in human communion. "Personalism" (he writes) "transfers the centre of gravity from the value of objective communities, society, nation, State, to the value of personality. The entire world is nothing in comparison with human personality, with the unique person of man, with his unique fate . . ." And again: "The image of God and the image of mechanism and the automaton clash against each other, the choice is either God-man or automaton humanity, machine humanity. The free man is simply the man who does not allow the alienation, the ejection into the external of his conscience and his judgment in any kind of exterior collective body whatever . . ."

PRESERVING PERSONALITY

Middleton Murry once spoke of pacifists as in a measure incarnating the conscience of simple men in revolt against the whole dynamics of our society issuing in total war. Berdyaev also sees in modern war, not only the extreme form and utmost limit of violence but also the extreme form and utmost limit of anti-personalism, the denial of personality. It would seem then that the crucial task for pacifists in their efforts to promote justice and peace must now be resolved into the one struggle to preserve the human person, his pride in work, his creative impulse, his affections, his family relationships—his spiritual character.

Besides the slavery of men to war, to society, to collectivism, to machinery, Berdyaev, in this penetrating and exhaustive study of slavery and freedom, considers such other "Lures to Slavery" as the Lure of the Bourgeois Spirit (Slavery to Property and Money) and the Lure of Individualism (the Slavery of Man to Himself). There is not the space available to say more here, but, as one of the few movements which (as stated in a Peace News letter) remains essentially a society of persons and of which aims to maximize the responsibility of its members as persons, the PPU will surely find this book of particular importance as a subject for group study meetings.

STORMONT MURRAY

Bitter enough is either of these prospects. No abstractions here, but very truth surely . . .

Personally, I feel so glad of every occasion of honesty that I would always say "Thank you" for it. In this case I felt no shock, but perhaps a slight twinge of misgiving, and of sympathy.

MARJORIE TURNER

4 Thristley Gardens, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

Advice to critics

PEACE News is right in the present controversy about the Second Front remarks. Since when has the fact of looking at things as they are (not as we wish them to be), and stating what is the best that can come of those circumstances, been taken as giving approval to those circumstances?

If the pacifist sees a filthy slum destroyed by bombing, and expresses the hope that in the place new and sanitary homes will arise, is he to be taken as approving of that method of slum clearance?

For the letter-writing critics I have this question: The national press carries every day statements which should be challenged. Are you as conscientious in writing to the ordinary press as you are when you think PN has slipped up? It is possible the editor of Peace News has much to learn: it is certain the editor of The Times has. Try him next time!

ROGER PAGE

5 Lower Camden, Chislehurst.

Un-pacifist

YOU are a militarist and should not be editing Peace News. Militarism and pacifism are diametrically opposed.

Quick victories, slow victories, stalemates, defeats, are not in the hands of pacifists. "Vengeance is mine," saith the Lord.

The majority of soldiers of both sides sincerely wish for a quick victory for their side for the same reasons as you.

Victories result in fresh wars, and there is no world of abstraction about them.

SYDNEY LANCASTER

80 Childwall Lane, Liverpool, 14.

Suggestion

Your leader on your Victory theme is very helpful to those who have little understanding of these issues. Could you not arrange a post-graduate course, say at the Retreat at York, to bring some pacifists up to your modern sense, with lectures by your staff on how to take the Pax out of Pacifism? On the improvement of ideas since the remote days of George Fox (how to add "y" to the name)? On the encouragement of schizophrenia, or broad and wide-mindedness?

Dancing classes might be held for a Victory War Dance; costumes made from calico printed with a design of skulls and very crooked crosses would have priority in coupons, I am sure.

H. JOHNSON

39 Park Ave., Windermere.

ARE STRIKES A PACIFIST METHOD?

?

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Copies can be obtained from the Author, Quainton, Aylesbury, Bucks, or the P.P.U.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

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NAMES

REGISTRATION is regarded by practically everybody as a very mixed blessing; even when—as in the distribution of food or in recruitment for service—it makes for equity.

To volunteer one's name in order that it may be converted into a number, to have one's needs standardized into the form of coupons—these things do not contribute to human dignity. A society which was concerned to become a community would make a more personal assessment of its citizens' abilities and decentralize the services it was expected to render. Registration would have its value as a census, but would serve only as the information on which more intimate relationships were built.

The PPU has its own registration problem. When Dick Sheppard first invited men and women to sign the Pledge, he may have thought of the Union only as a census of those who opposed war. There is ample evidence, however, that in the early days both he and the Sponsors saw the need for developing the groups. The groups of the movement were, indeed, soon an expression at the level of the local community of the conscientious revolt from war, of which the Head Office Signatories File was the national symbol. There was no danger, at that stage, of the Union not being a vital movement of persons.

But since the war, and because of the huge problems it has brought for many pacifists, a large number of our signatories have tended to get out of touch with both the groups and the national movement. We are in communication with them only through Peace News and an occasional Appeal Letter which they may, or may not, answer. Our Signatories File is out of date. Our information about members is inadequate.

We at Head Office have always deplored this situation and worked to remedy it. It is part of the aim of the Development Committee to assist the formation of active groups and see that members are put in touch with them. Its work with the Area Committees is its attempt to decentralize its services. Its appeal to groups to check their Signatories Lists is a step in the direction of making a more personal contact with members.

The PPU is more than a collection of names, a registration. But it needs the co-operation of all its members if it is to become a true democracy of peace. The initial move to the re-establishment of a local community of pacifists must often come from one or two local people. Finance alone makes it impossible for us to contact all our members direct. If you are one of the people with whom we have not recently been in touch, or if you belong to a Group which is working on an out-of-date signatories file, you can do something to help solve our registration problem. It would be an unfortunate commentary on our criticism of Government compulsion if we were unable, voluntarily, to complete a census of this kind. More especially since this job needs to be done in order that we may build the movement into a community of pacifists.

This is the second of a series of monthly articles written by the new Development Secretary, dealing with various aspects of the Development Committee's work.

N.P.C. STATEMENT

The National Peace Council statement, "Germany, Europe and the future peace," most of which we published last week, is now available as a leaflet at 8d. per dozen, and 6s. per 100, post free, from the NPC, 144, Southampton Row, W.C.1.

"I renounce war . . ."

F. A. LEA examines what comes next

THE position of the pacifist is a paradoxical one. He has to proclaim that war can result only in further war, and at the same time work tirelessly for peace; to demonstrate that mass-murder destroys all the values of Christian civilization, and labour night and day to prove himself wrong.

He has to greet with joy only tempered by a becoming modesty the assurance of his opponents that he is mistaken, and treasure nearest his heart the inestimable distinction of being a false prophet. It is, alas, too seldom that he can avail himself of these consolations. Too often he has to face the gloomy prospect of being proved right; he is tempted by the luxury of pessimism at every turn. Woe betide him if he succumbs!

Pacifists who foresee the failure of all their efforts to prevent this war sowing the seeds of the next and who realize anyway that whatever armistice may materialize, they can never escape from their responsibility—that they will carry the war in their hearts for as long as they live—sometimes cast blame on the negative nature of the Pledge, and call for a union of COs on some positive programme of social or political reconstruction, acceptable to non-pacifists as well. Men, they see, will always fight rather than starve, and under the present social system will always starve if they don't fight. Revolution or radical reform is manifestly necessary: here surely is scope for collaboration?

ONLY SOLID GROUND

To me it seems that our failure is the measure of our success. It is not for lack of reformers or revolutionaries that this war is setting the stage for the next. If there is one thing that that confirms it is just the truth that almost every radical policy whatever, whether it be a short-term policy of federal union or a long-term one of agricultural revival, is doomed to frustration so long as it accepts the necessity of war. There is no solid ground to build on but that of the very renunciation for which we stand.

Contrariwise, given that renunciation to stand on, almost any undertaking may prove effective. Not that one social or political programme, acceptable to all pacifists without distinction, can be built on it. Quite the reverse. Those who point out that the PPU as a union of COs having nothing of necessity in common but their refusal to fight, cannot have any

policy in this sense, are perfectly right. But the very fact which they often consider damning is surely the saving grace. Excluded from the realm of programme-activity, the PPU is free, and forced, to concentrate on the infinitely more valuable function it really can fulfil.

That function is to multiply and fortify COs. It is strange that this, which occupied so prominent a place in the mind of its founder, should so often be overlooked. Is it because it seems a very negative activity? In truth, it is that only so long as conscience itself is considered as something negative. But there is nothing more positive in the world. The Christian refused to burn incense before Caesar because he was determined to burn it before God. It is not the Christian but the individualist who will not burn incense at all, except, on the quiet perhaps, to himself.

THE OBTUSE

The CO who feels nothing more than a revulsion against taking life is but half-developed. That is not to say that he does not deserve our support (no-one can be fully-developed without having been half-developed); still less that he should be excluded from the Union. But conscientious objection, to the measure that it is truly conscientious, can only be the obverse of conscientious compulsion.

And what is conscientious compulsion? It is another name for vocation: the union of talent with service. There are good moral reasons why pacifist service cannot be less than full-time; but full-time service can be other than frustrating only if it employs a man's natural gifts; and a man's talent can bring him reward only if it is expended in the name of the Master. The function of the PPU is not only to extend a hand of friendship to those who refuse their participation in mechanized massacre, but to assist in all possible ways those who are struggling to obey their vocations.

Words of Peace—80

On the wrong side

I may want to kill an umpire or a comedian or an after-dinner speaker—but to want to kill a whole nation, to poison and drown and destroy by machinery thousands of innocent beings, to pretend that little children are "enemies," and to want to starve them to death—ah! no, I won't do it. Don't ask me. War; in other words, has got on the wrong side of our potential feelings, and it's got to go.

—Stephen Leacock in "Laughter and Wisdom."

gling to obey their vocations.

Vocations are of many sorts. There is that of the politician and the framer of policies: but distinctively political activity cannot absorb the whole best of most of us. There is the vocation of the social service worker and the philosopher. To some extent the PPU already gives them its backing. And, in land-communities, it has given men with a calling for agriculture or manual crafts opportunities to exercise their gift in the name of peace. But much more than this can be done, by the service of COs indirectly to serve society. As soon as the present restrictions upon their activities are relaxed—restrictions which mean goal unless vocation and direction coincide—a vast field will be open, which we should prepare ourselves to plough.

Furthermore, devoting itself thus to the service of COs, the PPU will in fact be pursuing a policy of even greater direct value to society. For if, as Eric Gill believed, a major cause of modern war is the life-frustration of the millions who are deprived by modern civilization of creative fulfilment in their work, then the movement which, so far as it can, secures to its members the opportunity for that fulfilment, will contain within itself the germ of a warless society. Inasmuch as it does that, it will be a revolutionary movement indeed, whose "end is implicit in its means."

HOLIDAY SERVICE NEEDS HELP

The Pacifist Service Units in Stepney have for some time been running a Holiday and Convalescence Service, to meet a need which was constantly encountered in work among children and adults in adverse circumstances. The co-operation of many friends has enabled them to find homes for these, but this year a variety of causes has robbed them of much of this help. To enable them to continue to meet the most urgent needs they therefore require new

offers of accommodation, for two or three weeks at a time, with or without payment, for children or adults.

"We feel from our past experience," writes Bernard Cave, "that apart from the short-term need for fresh air and adequate diet to repair the damage done by poor living conditions, the need for seeing higher standards of living (in the non-monetary sense), which is the real core of the 'slum problem', is also in part met by such a private holiday scheme as this. If any friends are able to help, we should like them to consider the matter urgently."

Offers should be sent to Bernard Cave at 79 Ring House, The Highway, London, E.1 (phone: Royal 4664).

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL PROPERTIES to be let or sold in N.W. London and districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11 (Speedwell 9888, 6 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

NON-COMBATANT (art master) requires flat, small house, London area; wife, 3 children; rent or purchase. Grateful any practical suggestions. Box 491.

PACIFIST DIRECTED to professional work in outer London requires lodgings for several months near Becontree. Box 492.

ACCOMMODATION, FURNISHED or unfurnished, required by single lady, out all day; Watford district. Box 502.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44).

JOHN SCANLON would welcome one or two congenial souls to island with no foreign policy, and no noise. Terms according to length of stay. Write John Scanlon, Isle of Gigha, Argyll, Scotland.

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s. classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. (Pri. 5686.)

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY—a new approach! Creates positive will-power and urge to leadership of men. Dynamic! Explains deeply Yoga; mysticism; dreams; power, etc. By Rankian specialist. Write for prospectus enclosing 6d. stamps. A. Carlton, Driftcombe Cottage, Nr. Bisley, Stroud, Glos.

FOR SALE AND WANTED

TYPEWRITERS: bought, sold, repaired; special terms to pacifists. Cook, The Mount, Noak Hill, Romford, Essex.

ALLYSOLO—After 5,000 years a way has been found to remove from garlic its intolerable smell. Get to know Allysol healing liquid, tablets, and sweet-smelling garlic ointment. Send for booklets about garlic. Please refer to advert in this issue.

PRINTING PRESS complete comprehensive collection type and accessories. Suitable for pamphlets and magazines. Cook, The Mount, Noak Hill, Romford, Essex.

PACIFIST VEGETARIAN family wish to purchase fruit for bottling. Also English honey. Harris, 12 Barons Gate, East Barnet, Herts.

C.O. REQUIRES typewriter, preferably portable, for work connected with livelihood. Modern machine essential. Silence negative. Box 498.

RE-USE ENVELOPES—with Peace News economy labels. 1s. for 100, 8s. for 1,000. Order from your local distributor or direct from P.N. Office.

LAND AND COMMUNITY

LAKE DISTRICT community has accommodation for three new members (for forestry work); also for limited number paying guests. Secretary, West Vale, Far Sawrey, via Ambleside, Westmorland.

VACANCY FOR land-worker and housekeeper in small market-gardening community. Gloucester Land Scheme, Hempstead, Gloucester.

LITERATURE, etc.

ARE YOU interested in international war resistance? Groups are invited to write to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex, for specimen literature describing the International's activities. The W.R.I. can also supply speakers to address P.P.U. and other pacifist groups on its work.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS, etc.

ALEX WOOD will speak on "Win the peace" at Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, on Tues., Jul. 11, at 1.20 p.m.

MANCHESTER: JOHN Barclay will speak at P.P.U. Regional meeting, Wed., Jul. 19, 7 p.m. Friends' Meeting House.

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN, 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

METHODIST C.O., 25, wishes to make the acquaintance of a fellow C.O., living in the Scarborough district; either sex, opportunity of meeting during time off. Further particulars supplied. Box 499.

ANTI-LABOUR Laws Victims Defence Committee (Chairman J. Maxton, M.P.), aims to defend victims of anti-labour laws such as Trade Disputes Act, and Regulation 1A(a). Already four people have been recently convicted under Trade Disputes Act. Funds urgently needed for defence campaign. Treasurer: W. G. Cove, M.P., c/o 318 Regents Park Rd., London, N.3.

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants who are in any doubt are recommended to consult the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

ODAM HILL School and Children's Farm, S. Molton, Devon, needs married handyman (exempt position) end July. Wife help in school. One or two children welcomed.

YOUNG MAN required for general work on market gardening. Previous experience not essential. Small wage with full board and lodging. Good home, pleasant surroundings. Near Taunton, Somerset. Employer a C.O. Write immediately, Box 488.

URGENT: outside representative for typewriter business. Salary and commission. Owner, C.O. anticipating prison. Cook, The Mount, Noak Hill, Romford, Essex.

FLORIST MANAGER required West London company four shops. Experienced market-buying and supervising staff. Good post-war prospects. Apply by letter. Morland, Westbury, Wilts.

WANTED: DOMESTIC help. Two friends welcomed, but no accommodation for children. Hurtwood School, Peaslake, Guildford. Tel. Abinger 119.

MRS. JOHN Scanlon needs competent woman to assist mornings and run house alternate days from lunch time. Other days free from lunch time. Recognized wage for job paid. Or anyone willing to give part work for holiday. Write Mrs. John Scanlon, Isle of Gigha, Argyll, Scotland.

TWO GARDENERS required, one with understanding of frames, green-houses and rotational cropping. Miss Harris, Hinton House (vegetarian and nature-cure home), Hinton Charterhouse, nr. Bath.

VEGETARIAN HOME for children, "Orchard Dene," View Road, Rainhill. Matron required, practical person, prepared to share duties with staff.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

DUPLICATING—100 copies, quarto, 4s. 6d., postage extra. Also expert typing. Winifred Jewell Typewriting Office, 8 Lammas Park Gardens, Ealing. Phone Ealing 1645.

C.O. (28) married, seeks post tractor-driver, cowman. Experienced. Preferably with house. Box 500.

C.O. SEEKS job as working pupil, mkt. gdn. and gen. hort. for Sen. R.H.S. Exam. Home Counties, Box 501.

MARRIED C.O. desires land-work. Any part of country. Accommodation required, preferably furnished, 3½ yrs' experience. Box 503.

MISCELLANEOUS

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday, 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

GROUP MEDITATION (London). Yoga and Heard-Huxley theories. Active proponents, write Bragg, Merville, 105 Tulse Hill, S.W.2.

NATURE-CURE TREATMENT of disease (including eyes). Reginald J. Bailey, M.S.F., N.C.P., Osteopath and Naturopath, 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchester Hill, N.21. (Ex-Maidstone C.O.) Consultations by appointment. Postal advice given. Palmers Green 7868.

TUITION: health-giving dancing; School of High Morals; Saturdays, 7.30—psychology; elocution; public speaking. Wednesdays, 7.30 (individualists, pioneers, literary writers, etc.), all ages. Special treatments: nerves, rheumatism, other ailments. Universal Friendship League winter hostels: Largs, Prestwick. Correspondence, health, love, marriage. Katharine Macdonald, M.N.B.A., Naturopathic psychologist (Certificated Honours, Eloc. Glasgow; Edinburgh Festivals). 6 Lansdowne Crescent, Glasgow.

PPU members who move should remember the importance of notifying their change of address to Headquarters (6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1) so that the membership records may be kept up to date.

Will socialism revive in Europe?

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

History, in creative crisis, does not work on this simple pattern.

Chance for socialism

I CAN only guess what will come of it. Perhaps a drastic purging of the Russian revolutionary idea, from its accretions of nationalism and totalitarianism. At any rate I should not be surprised if the day of the disciplined revolutionary party ruthlessly running the centralized State is over. That may be wishful thinking. But I do not believe that communism is going to overrun Europe, because communism, in the form it has taken in Russia, has so little to offer Europe.

"Russia does not enjoy all the advantages. It is a large continental Power with a great military machine and, as such, excites fear as well as respect. In their dealings with Europe so far, the Russians have not fallen behind their Allies in 'realism' and expediency. Their great advantage is the Soviet myth, the belief of millions that in some way or other the Russian revolutionary record offers some solution of the pressing social and economic problems of the century." (Economist, July 1.)

The Germans appear to have achieved the very opposite of their conscious purposes. They have created a sense and experience of real solidarity in the industrial workers of Europe, by shifting them about en masse. International democratic socialism may be reborn as reality. It perished as an idea in the war of 1914-18.

NEGOTIATED PEACE CAMPAIGN

THE Negotiated Peace Campaign Committee has considered it desirable, in view of the extended military operations, to state the implications these might have on the campaign, together with suggestions for activity for those interested.

In a statement issued from Headquarters at a time of crisis in the past (July 1, 1940), the PPU then hoped that an understanding of the true situation would penetrate the mind of the Government. "For the necessary condition . . . is a definite renunciation of the idea that a successful issue of the war consists in a peace dictated after victory. The successful prosecution of the war can be rationally conceived only as an effort to put an end to it so soon as we are in a position to negotiate a peace on a realistic basis."

Four years ago the initiative was not in the hands of the Government, and it was generally recognized that, "nothing effective in the way of advocating and seeking peace can be made." The Committee believe that the essential difference between then and now is that today the initiative is in the hands of the Government, and that something effective can be done in the way of advocating and seeking peace. We believe, in common with all the members of the movement, that "the pacifist ideal of peace by free negotiation can be realized only when the will to negotiate is present" but we also believe that because the Government now have the opportunity to take the initiative in seeking peace by negotiation if they so desire, so also have we now the opportunity to create within the mind of the people that "will to negotiate" which must be present before peace by negotiation can be realized.

We would therefore urge that the whole membership should consider their responsibility as citizens at this time in the light of the fact that, only, in so far as we can create in the mind of the people, and through the people in the mind of the Government this "will to negotiate", can there be any successful conclusion to the present war. Far from the invasion of Normandy making our efforts futile and meaningless, the nearer the country approaches to victory the greater must be our efforts in this direction.

We do not believe that our effort will be futile and meaningless even if, when we have done all we can, the war should end (as now seems probable) in victory and a dictated peace. The revision of a dictated peace treaty also depends on this "will to negotiate," so that whenever or however the war may end the work we do now will not be lost.

The committee therefore urges that no effort should be spared to forward the campaign by every means possible. It is essential that all should know the case for negotiation. A list of literature available, which is continually being augmented, will be sent on application. We regret the delay in printing leaflets. These are now available and should be distributed as early as possible.

Will you write to your MP, members of the Government, your local press, public figures in your locality, and others, urging a negotiated peace? Ask other organizations to accept a speaker on the subject. Organize poster-parades. Printed posters are now available, suitable slogans for posters can be supplied or, given due notice, hand-written posters. Arrange indoor and outdoor meetings. Regular open-air meetings are now a feature in many centres. If you will arrange the meetings we can supply the speakers.

These are a few of the ways in which you can forward the campaign, and play a part of decisive importance in the present crisis.

HENRY HILDITCH
Secretary.

Leading Europe

THE Russian system does not offer any solution of the problems of the European countries. If Russia had been faithful to its socialist foreign policy of 1917 it would have had peace with Finland long before now. Indeed, there would have been no Finnish war at all. In 1917 Lenin proclaimed as the principle of peace "No annexations, no indemnities." How the luckless Finns would have jumped at it! In fact, the Russian system is national socialism, not international socialism.

Therefore, I believe that with all her faults, Britain has more to offer Europe than Russia has—if only the precious example of solving its domestic conflicts by consent, not ruthless violence. The pity of it is that this leadership is not being offered to Europe. Mr. Churchill's "kind words" to Franco were a direct repudiation of it.

BERTRAM LLOYD

Many pacifists will hear with great regret of the death, on Jun. 9, of Bertram Lloyd, a CO in the last war, and always—before then and afterwards—an ardent and fearless defender of "under-dogs," biped and quadruped, in all their species—victims to man's cruelty.

"Lost causes," of the kind which eventually win through, were his speciality, and he was an active worker in several of the societies which stood for them. He was a keen lover and student of the life of nature, especially of birds—a patient watcher, but no collector of "specimens."

In appearance a fierce ascetic, with little flesh to his bones, and a beak of a face, actually he enjoyed life heartily—though frugally; and for him a few apples (which he declared to be "God's best gift to man") were a sufficient meal taken standing or walking when he did not want to waste time.

He had strong loves and strong hatreds, and in the latter tended to intolerance, but always with the saving gift of humour. In 1919 he published a small anthology of anti-war poems ("The Paths of Glory"; Allen and Unwin); he was also a frequent writer for the various humanitarian societies to which he belonged. Finally, when from an overstrained heart his health broke down, he wrote his own epitaph. It was a jovial one.

L.H.

Space for displayed advertisements in Peace News is limited; most of it is booked well in advance of publication. Prospective advertisers will help to avoid disappointment by asking for space to be reserved at least 3 weeks ahead.

LETTERS

Is history repeating?

I DO not know whether history repeats itself or not, but it seems to me there is a striking resemblance between certain events of the past and present. Recently I came across a little blue pamphlet, published in 1902, "My visit to Tolstoy," by C. Lombroso. Lombroso, the eminent Italian criminologist, visited Tolstoy in 1897. Here is the paragraph that struck me—it might be of interest to others.

"Before my departure I could not refrain from asking Tolstoy what he thought about the Franco-Russian Alliance. He said that in his opinion it was the greatest misfortune that could have ever befallen the Russian people. Up to the present the public opinion of Europe, the centre of which was in France, had a restraining influence upon the tyranny of the Russian Government. Now they have nothing to worry about. And the facts, said Tolstoy, particularly the sad fact of violence against Finland, seem to confirm this view."

Today, instead of France there stand Britain and USA, but the effect is the same.

L. PERNO

16 Heatherlea Rd.,
Southbourne, Bournemouth.

Gandhi and Huxley

I cannot agree with Roy Walker's evaluation of "Grey Eminence" (PN, Jun. 16), especially where he accuses Huxley of embroidering the theme "that all power corrupts." A study of the book (which I commend to pacifists as food for thought) discloses little evidence to support this charge.

What Huxley does is to face the paradox . . . that political action is necessary and at the same time incapable of satisfying the needs which called it into existence" (p. 242). His conclusion is, briefly, that the life of mystical contemplation is by far the most effective prelude to action and protection against the temptations of authority. He rejects extreme quietism, pleads for the practice of "goodness-politics" in contrast to power-politics, and points out that the most truly influential movements in history have functioned "on the margins of society." (And, whether we like it or not, the PPU falls within this category.)

According to Christ, both the "poor in spirit" (i.e. the contemplative) and those willing to undergo persecution (the non-violent resister), will find the Kingdom of Heaven. So I cannot see any antithesis between Huxley's theocentric mysticism and Gandhi's satyagraha: on the contrary, the two are complementary. But they circumscribe different aspects of reality, and it is essential that we pacifists learn to think clearly about both.

RALPH H. ARNOLD
214 Victoria Rd., London, N.22.

NINTH PROSECUTION FOR TWO FIREGUARD C.O.s

KENNETH H. SIBLEY, a St. Albans CO, has now been prosecuted nine times for refusing fire-guard duties. At his ninth hearing on Jun. 29 he was charged with failing to do duty on Jun. 8 and 14—before the date of his last hearing.

After considering a note of Kenneth Sibley's earnings, the chairman announced that the defendant would be fined £1 on each of the two charges.

Kenneth Sibley had previously been fined £2, £5, 2s. 6d., £3, £3, £5, and £5. One summons was dismissed.

George P. Elphick, of Lewes, is to be prosecuted again—his ninth charge for refusing fire-guard duties. He

has already been to prison five times for refusing duty on conscientious grounds.

When Lewes Borough Council met on Friday evening, Jun. 30, specially to discuss the case, a further prosecution was agreed upon, with two dissentients.

A summons is expected within the next few days.

On the previous Tuesday a deputation of three local residents led by the Rev. Harry Maguire had waited upon the Mayor and presented a petition signed by twenty leading people, including ten MPs, asking that further proceedings should not be taken. The Town Clerk of Lewes and Denis Hayes of the Central Board for COs were in attendance.

Some members of the Council, reported the Daily Mail on Tuesday, "have been rather worried about the mounting expense of summoning and imprisoning Elphick. But the mayor, Alderman C. D. Crisp, has pointed out that the town is in pocket. Total cost of taking action, so far, is just over £14—but if he had received the fire-watching allowance the town would have paid out about £25."

THE VICTORY ILLUSION

At a public meeting in Birmingham last Friday on "End the War by Negotiation," Stuart Morris told the audience of 200 people: "Even if Germany collapsed now I should still press for negotiation."

Victory, he said, was an illusion and we were in danger of taking victory as an end in itself. He warned those who believed that victory would bring increased trade that Britain was in a similar position to that of Germany after the last war, when she was stripped of all her overseas investments; it was on overseas investments that we should have to depend for a favourable balance of trade. All was not well between Allied Powers. He quoted from a pro-British American newspaper to the effect that "US would not restore British interests in the Far East."

Opportunities for negotiation continually presented themselves. Every repatriated prisoner-of-war was an answer to the argument that it was not possible to negotiate with Hitler. He suggested that peace by negotiation was inherent in the PPU pledge.

Rhys Davies, MP, and Guy Aldred, Editor of The Word, stated the case for a negotiated peace to a large audience in Friends Hall, Lancaster, on June 17.

Mr. Davies said they should not make the mistake of thinking that the British Government is not even now making attempts to get a negotiated peace.

He was not so sure that anybody was going to win this war in the traditional military sense. In his view it would go on for a very long time yet if they were going to continue it on the military plane.

Mr. Aldred asked whether, with all the means of communication today, they could not talk to the German people?

Meaning of "negotiation"

May I ask the Negotiated Peace Committee what they mean by a negotiated peace in the actual circumstances of today? It can mean any of the following very different things:

A negotiation of peace terms between the Big Three and the present German Government—

(a) on the basis of the present power-situation. What that power-situation is, actually or potentially, would be reflected in the peace-terms, and in fact substantially decided by the negotiation itself;

(b) on the basis of a future power-situation, if and when it reaches a practical and manifest equilibrium (commonly called stalemate);

(c) not based on the power-situation at all, but upon principles of justice accepted by both belligerents, e.g. the Fourteen Points;

(d) the same as (a) but with the important difference that there would be a preliminary stipulation by the Big Three that they would only negotiate with a new German Government;

(e) the same as (c) with the same difference. If the Negotiated Peace Committee says negotiated peace includes all of these and that it would support any of them, it would seem that its own principles need clarifying. If it would support only some, or only one of them, may we know which?

HENRY KING

Non-belligerents

I have recently received word from Eire that we, in not fully appreciating the great efforts made by the people of that country towards mitigating the sufferings arising out of the present war, do them a great injustice. If we truly recognize non-belligerency, why cannot we as a great and, I trust, understanding nation, give to non-belligerents everywhere the credit they so rightly deserve when their sacrifice and good nature short of actually entering into hostilities, is undoubtedly great.

ANNE MILSOM

52 St. John St., Oxford.

Ex-service pacifists

Can you put me in touch with any fraternity of ex-Service (1914-18) pacifists—i.e., ex-fighting men who have subsequently taken the Peace Pledge?

All I seem to contact are original pacifists, last war and this, and though I meet disillusioned ex-fighting men none seem to have taken to pacifism completely.

R. POLLARD

94 Queens Rd., Richmond, Surrey.

Quandary

Can anyone tell me of a holiday house-party or camp for teen-age girls which does not consist of Commandants and Practical Christianity and informal prayers?

My daughter begs me to allow her to go to one like this. Since I can find no alternative, I am in somewhat of a quandary.

NANCY ROUSE
"Colleton," Broadwater Rd., Worthing.

KERSHNER REPLIES

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

ment did not regret undertaking the Greek operation. This must be so, otherwise it would not have been continued and increased from time to time.

"In a thirteen-minute radio talk one cannot tell all of the story. In many of my written statements I have referred to the three ship-loads of food sent to Southern France by the American Red Cross. Two of these were in the spring of 1941 and the third in the early fall of 1942. They were of course wholly inadequate to meet the need. I have no disposition to conceal this fact, and have often spoken of it with the fullest approval.

"I can only plead lack of time in a thirteen-minute radio talk to make all of these details clear. Mr. Dingle Foot is quite right in saying that the pamphlet is 'incomplete.' It will be seen that Dr. Kershner's reply to his critics is very much one of the lines of the answer suggested in Peace News on May 27. "I am not a pacifist," Dr. Kershner adds, but "on the question of food for Europe's children I join wholeheartedly with you."

VISIT TO BRITAIN?

Discussing the possibility of a visit to Britain later this year on a speaking-tour, Dr. Kershner recalls his earlier contacts with the Famine Relief Committee and says, "I would like to have the Famine Relief Committee included as one of the sponsors" in whatever arrangements are made. This suggestion will be warmly welcomed by the 200 mixed food-relief committees who have for some time been concerned to obtain the full co-operation of the Famine Relief Committee in the efforts they are making to consolidate support behind Dr. Kershner's Plan.

It is understood that a similar reply to criticisms was sent to Mr. Dingle Foot through the British Embassy in Washington during his recent visit to the United States.

Just out: Fourpence

CATALOGUE OF CONVICTION

The Case of George Elphick

C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Please note our only address
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79 SOUTHERN ROW, LONDON, W.10.

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Watermill Lane, Fairlight, Sussex

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